

SPEECH TO THE BLIND WORLD WAR
VETERANS

Thomas D. Schall

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SPEECH TO THE BLIND WORLD WAR VETERANS.

"How a Blind Man Got to Congress, How He Has Stayed There, and What He Sees There."

By MR. SCHALL,
OF MINNESOTA.

Mr. Joseph E. Vance, director of the Evergreen School for the Blind, at Baltimore, on the 2d day of March, 1922, introduced Mr. SCHALL as follows:

Address of Mr. Joseph E. Vance Introducing Mr. Schall.

I have the honor and pleasure this evening of introducing Congressman THOMAS D. SCHALL, who represents in the House the tenth district of Minnesota, the State from which I hail.

Mr. SCHALL is totally blind, having lost his sight a decade or so ago through an electric shock. I have watched his public career with a great deal of interest for, on the battle ground, I followed closely and minutely his first fight for a seat in Congress. A man of character, ability and brilliancy, self-made and well-made, having earned his own living since a little boy of nine years—a graduate of the school of toil and hard knocks as well as the University of Minnesota, with a degree of good fellowship and democracy as well as A. B. and LL. B. Whatever he is, and I consider him one of the foremost figures of the nation's history to-day, is due to his tenacious will and steadfastness of purpose and courage to fight for the right as he conceives it.

Congressman SCHALL is peculiarly fitted to bring to us tonight a message, not only because he is blind, but because of the phenomenal success he has made of his life, in spite of the seemingly overwhelming handicap in which his environment has placed him. He is a notable example of a man who molds his own environment instead of succumbing to it.

Eight years ago when he first ran for Congress no one of political acumen had the hardihood to dare to think of his success. Without organization, without newspaper support, without money, and little known, single-handed and alone, with the exception of his loyal and brilliant "better three-fourths," as he calls her, who was his guide and adviser, he tackled the job as an Independent Progressive Republican, and he won over both machines of the older parties, strongly entrenched and plentifully nourished with money. His speaking campaign for that election is unequalled, I dare say, anywhere in the world, for number of speeches, endurance, ability, and brilliancy. His clarion voice was heard at every cross-roads and hamlet, for he spoke outdoors, having no money to hire halls, and whoever caught the tones of sincerity was impelled to believe, as did Theodore Roosevelt, when he said, "I believe in Tom SCHALL with all my heart."

No one can come in touch with Tom SCHALL, whether they are Members of Congress or ordinary citizens, and hear him speak but will be convinced of his sincerity and honesty of purpose, as the following words from a few of the great and leadings souls of the House with whom he has come daily in contact will illustrate.

Former Speaker Champ Clark said, "SCHALL is able and fearless and a cracking good speaker."

Democratic Floor Leader CLAUDE KITCHIN said: "SCHALL is one of the most eloquent and attractive speakers in the House, and enjoys the esteem and confidence of the entire membership, regardless of party."

Hon. JAMES MANN, former Republican floor leader, said of SCHALL: "Masterful, sincere, very eloquent speaker, always listened to with great interest in the House."

Hon. FRANK MONDELL, present Republican floor leader said: "We of the House owe a debt of gratitude to our Colleague SCHALL for the example he has set us of cheerful, helpful, and efficient service. If Mr. SCHALL had two good eyes, he could not be more efficient in the discharge of his duties."

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Hon. MARTIN MADDEN, Chairman of the great Appropriation Committee, said of Mr. SCHALL: "I have watched his activities with deep interest. I have been charmed with the force with which he has presented questions to the House. I have listened with interest to his speeches from time to time and unhesitatingly pronounce him one of the most forceful speakers it has been my privilege to know. I congratulate the district that sent him here on the wisdom of its choice."

Dr. SIMEON D. FESS, Chairman of the Committee on Education, and a member of the Rules Committee, says: "Mr. SCHALL's high recognition among his colleagues is not due to a sense of pity, but because his ability, his industry, his devotion to his cause in public service, his constancy on the job, have impressed his personality upon each Member."

I have quoted these men at such length because I want you boys to understand that the future is by no means closed to you, for what one blind man can do another can attempt, and to corroborate my statement that Congressman SCHALL is to-day one of the most able and persuasive orators of Congress, and that in Tom SCHALL, a blind man's voice and sincerity of thought have been a deciding factor in many critical issues of the House.

I could cite many illustrations where Mr. SCHALL, as a Member of the House, has stood for what he believed to be right regardless of those about him. To illustrate his unwavering courage in standing by his convictions, and letting the future decide as to the wisdom of his course, I recall one instance only a short time ago, and I am not saying whether at the time I stood with him or not upon the proposition, when by voice and vote he stood alone against the whole Congress.

Again, it was Congressman SCHALL's vote that was the deciding factor in the organization of the war Congress. Though a Republican, Congressman SCHALL reasoned that the Executive and Senate being Democratic, the House should also be Democratic, and courageously, regardless of political consequences to him, cast his vote for the organization of that House by the Democrats, so that the responsibility of our entrance into and conduct of the war about to be entered upon should be unhampered by party differences, and we could function immediately, as he well put it in a speech made at the time.

Had Congressman SCHALL's vote been other than it was, the House might have been held up in its organization for weeks or months, as had been demonstrated through past experiences, where the House has been equally divided. The fact that Congressman SCHALL had the courage and was willing to offer his political career on the altar of his country's immediate need, gives only one of the many examples of his service as a Member of Congress.

Another illustration I remember right now and will put it in here. It was Congressman SCHALL, as a member of the powerful Rules Committee of the House, who was a strong factor in denying a rule which would have permitted the Sterling-Graham Seditious Bill, which had passed the Senate to get before the House. Had this measure come before the House, in the feverish, antianarchistic, unnatural war-bred temper of that body, in the opinion of those qualified to know, it undoubtedly would have passed, and if it had the country would have been chagrined with a law that would have hung men who dared advocate a change in our Government, however essential that change might be to fit the needs of the present time.

Had not Congressman SCHALL cast his vote as he did in the organization of the War Congress, the history of the world undoubtedly would have been different, for had not the House organized immediately instead of a procrastination which would have come had his vote been different, you boys and your companions would not have been upon the battle fields of France as early as you were, and had not the American troops taken up the cudgel the very day they did, against the German entrance into Paris, Paris would have succumbed. And had Paris, the center of transportation and manufacture of munitions, been captured the war would soon have been lost. I cite this illustration to show that it was a blind man, at a critical

point in the world history, who turned the tide of world affairs, and thereby demonstrated that physical sight has nothing to do with moral intuition and vision.

It will be of interest to you blind veterans of the World War to know that Congressman SCHALL's physical courage is not less than his concentrated moral courage, for in the summer of 1918 he went to France and during July and August he mingled with the boys at the front, sharing their danger and hardship. During his return, on September 5, two or three hundred miles off the coast of Brest, the army transport on which he had taken passage was torpedoed and he thereby knows something of the dangers and trials of the American sailor. He has been in the depths of the ocean in submarine, and to the heights of the heavens by airplane. There's nothing that the seeing can do that he dares not. Thus I present him to you as a "regular fellow," who asks no quarter because of handicap.

I have asked him to tell us something of his early struggles for livelihood and an education, of his ambitions, of his hopes as a boy, how he came to be a candidate for Congress, how he succeeded in obtaining and holding that coveted seat, what part he has taken as a member of that most distinguished body, and what he conceives, if he desires, to be the most important legislation looking to the stability of our great Republic. In short, I have assigned him the subject, *How a Blind Man Got to Congress and What He Sees There*. Four times his constituency have elected him to Congress, the last two times by overwhelming vote, and I am certain that the next election will return him almost unanimously, for you only have to know him to be for him. He is preeminently fitted as a statesman, and I predict that the State of Minnesota will in a short time further honor itself by electing him to a seat in the United States Senate.

I have the honor to introduce to you the most distinguished blind man in the world, Congressman THOMAS D. SCHALL.

ADDRESS OF MR. SCHALL.

MR. SCHALL. A moment's analysis of your ingenious chairman in announcing the subject upon which I am to speak, How I got to Congress, How I've stayed there, What I have seen there, and What I think, as a Member of that body, should be done looking to the welfare of our country, will reveal the inference that I am to speak upon myself. That task has been made precarious through the eloquent and brilliant though flattering handling of that same subject by the chairman, and I approach it with qualms of an anti-climax, and while speaking to you, am mustering in my mind what I can say to hold fast to what I already have in your opinion, through the charity of your chairman. Understanding how you face life, benumbed by the consciousness of a grim handicap, I yield to the wish of your chairman in the hope that it may be helpful or useful in fortifying your endurance through the long night in Gethsemane.

But beyond my personal experience, I wish to bring to you something that has come to me in the dark, made manifest not by the light of the eye nor by the light of the sun, but by that inward light which is the true guide for us all.

Your chairman says I am a self-made man. It may be a poor job, but it's my own. For 30 years, I had the privilege of God's sunlight. Most of you have not had so many years of sight, but you have had enough of sight to understand the world as the seeing man sees it, and you will, therefore, not find yourselves, let us say, in the dilemma of the blind stand-pat Republican who has never seen and, in all probability, never will, who wanted to find out what the living image of the emblem of his party looked like, and, being led to an elephant felt of his ear and remarked that it seemed like a palm leaf. Feeling of his legs he said they felt like a tree. He ran his hands over his side and declared, it resembles the side of a house. He took hold of his tail and remarked that it felt like a rope.

We who have had our sight should be grateful in that we have established the proportions of things as seeing men understand them and are therefore better equipped to compete with the seeing world than the men and women who have never seen the world in its three dimensions.

My father was an educated man, a descendant of one of the early families of Virginia, whose ancestry fought in the revolution and our other wars. Dad served from the first tap of the drum to the end of the Civil War on the side of the Union. Some of his family served with the South. My mother could barely read or write. When I was three years of age father was taken from us, and, because of his improvidence, mother was forced to fall back upon the use of her hands for our livelihood. She was a good seamstress and a good cook.

She tried to make our living by sewing, but in those days there were more jobs to be had cooking. Her job took her and me to the back ends of hotels and restaurants, so I got my start in life back where the garbage, tin cans, and the flies and the profanity were thickest, and developed on such fertile soil a hot and belligerent temper which by constant curbing I have gradually learned to pretty well control, but at times, when exasperated, it gets beyond me and I am chagrined to find my language still retains a strong flavor of alley origin. Mother gave me all she had. Because of her lack, instilled in me the necessity of an education, laid in me the foundation of right and wrong, and taught me honesty and gratitude and gave me that larger heritage of a firm faith in God. She taught me that if I ever wanted a thing I should put myself in such a position that I could with clear conscience ask God for it. As a small boy, selling newspapers on the streets, if another newsy got upon my corner—which in those days was a definite possession in the law of newsies—I issued a note of warning; then, if he did not conform, I declared war, and always before I tackled the bout I used to fervently pray, "God help me lick him," and He must have helped me, for I have never been licked. If I was I didn't realize it. I have never faced a battle in all my life, either physical or mental, that I did not breathe that prayer, "God help me." When I rose to my feet to-night I said, "God help me tell these lads the thing that will best help them to brace their shoulders to the cross, best strengthen them along the weary way that they must tread alone, that no one but the blind can understand. We are all blind here to-night. This kind of speech under other circumstances would be impossible.

Because we shrink from burdening the sympathy of the seeing with our sorrow we perhaps assume a cheerfulness we are far from feeling. Thus the impression gets about that we are very happy. Because of our general understanding of things, the seeing person often attributes to us a sixth sense, which is really only the more intensive use of the four remaining senses. It is hard for the seeing person to understand our difficulties.

Often when I am invited to a town to speak and am met by a deputation of leading citizens, in trying to get off the train I attempt to put down my cane to see how far it is to the platform. Some kind soul, with the best intentions, will invariably grab my cane and start pulling on it, persistently hanging on though I try to persuade him to let go as it's my only eye, and before I can get it away from him some other well-meaning person may seize me about the body and with noisy grunts of satisfaction of disagreeable duty well performed will lift me and baggage off bodily like a sack of meal to the platform, thus attracting attention entirely unnecessarily and making me and them and everyone else ridiculous and convincing the observer of the propaganda that a blind man is entirely helpless, which he is under those circumstances, when attacked by a group of such thoroughly determined but well-meaning gentlemen who think they understand a blind man, believing that all they need to meet any situation is eyes. Perhaps, when I get to the hall, one of them will cordially insist on taking my arm, instead of allowing me to take his, whereby I could read his muscles and conjecture what he is about to do in our progress. Brim full of his duties as chairman, he seizes me with masterful kindness and hustles me down the crowded aisle, forgetting that I can't conveniently or gracefully, at the rate of speed he sets, climb over chairs or pews. Not being of the fourth dimension, I come bump up to the door jamb, which is all he has left for my physical passage. And I must equal the kindly spirit with which my discomfiture has been wrought, and smile and say, "Thank you!"

Thus, through hard knocks as the Chairman has indicated, I have learned some things; one of them is to insist, when I go upon these expeditions, that Mrs. Schall be included. She thus saves me much, but sometimes determined officials succeed in relegating her and embarrassing confusion often ensues. Or, if feeling my way along corridor, or street by indirection finding direction out, I go with hand or cane extended, it is a common thing for some kindly-intentioned seeing person to take my hand and guide me away from the very object whose contour would give my direction. Or, if I ask where a certain thing is, they rejoin, without thought: "There it is—right there"—which means so much to a man without sight. Or, unthinkingly, they assume that we are lame and halt and deaf, because we are blind.

I remember, when I was visiting a shell-shock hospital in France and was feeling, with my fingers, the model of an airplane made by one of the soldiers, the woman in charge took it out of my hand and began to explain, as to a child, what I

could have discovered much more quickly and accurately by my sense of touch. But we all know that our difficulties arise through lack of understanding rather than of heart, and we appreciate and cherish the good intent and it is a great consolation to us, even if it has been of no real service, to have felt the kindly impulse that prompted it.

In finding our way about in a strange town or locality, it is so hard to find some one who has imagination enough to give us specific directions. Many people are unaccustomed to use their minds and, content themselves with a wave of the hand, saying, "over here," or "over there," which only demonstrates that they have limited their capacity of thought to their eyes.

It's this same sort that are continually putting up to us when matters of judgment or decisions are in question, their infallible conclusions, always prefacing their proffered judgment with the statement, "now you can't see," or "if you could see," thus disposing of any contention of yours as of no weight, settling for you immediately with their slight eye judgment a thing which is as obvious to your discernment as it is to them and upon which you have spent perhaps earnest thought and arrived at conclusions of which it is patent they have not had the slightest conception.

Their assumption of superiority, based entirely upon the fact that they can see, is only equalled by the patience with which the blind endure it, for their observation is very often superficial and is full of discrepancy when compared to the enforced, minute, careful, and retentive observation of the blind, and it is undoubtedly upon this comparison that the sixth-sense propaganda is based, while in reality it is only the comparison of an understanding mind and pair of eyes without attachment.

Ask the seeing person the time. He will pull his watch out and tell you. A moment after ask him again. Five times out of ten, if one of the unattached sort, he will have to look at his watch again. And the fact that you have asked him just a moment before may this time connect him up, and he will photograph the information conveyed to you, so the next moment he will remember; while the blind, in answering such a question, must answer it through the brain, and will remember and thereby develop a keener observation, for they must know what they know.

In the last campaign one of my opponents was reading a speech to a large audience of men, which we had both been invited to address, when I came into the hall. I heard him read that the present Congressman was blind, and that to return him only meant the election of Mrs. Schall to that great office, for she, as the Congressman himself admits, is his eyes. "Why not send a man to Congress, who can look after your interests, instead of electing a woman?" When it came my time to reply I admitted that Mrs. Schall was my eyes, and vouchsafed that I had always claimed, as the chairman has told you, that she is my better three-fourths; but I said that I am now ready, for the sake of argument, to certify that she is 99 per cent of the Congressman, but still, at that, I think I have my opponent licked a mile, for I, at least, am making my own speeches and must do so as your Representative in Congress. Eyes really are not of much value to a constituency where they are used only to lip off words perhaps gathered by other brains. A rich Congressman could easily hire some brilliant secretary to amalgamate for him, where, with overweening dignity, if somewhat monotonously, he could drone to empty seats of Congress, all of which can go into the RECORD as easily read as if spoken new wrought from mind and heart. What you want in Congress is a soul, a mind, an understanding. Eyes are not so terribly valuable. They can be hired by the week. Pig eyes have been successfully grafted to the human use.

There are two ways to acquire knowledge; one through the sight, the other through the ear. The eye speaks to the senses; the ear speaks to the heart, the feelings. The ennobling difference between one soul and another is their different capacity for feeling.

To the blind man, work is his pleasure. He lives through his mind, and like the used key, it must grow brighter. All his other senses are sharpened, and through concentration, all other things being equal, he must excel. The interest of the seeing man is diffused by the passing show. The minds that have accomplished the most in this world have been those most capable of concentration. The blind man's interest in the glitter and show of things is gone. His pleasures and recreations are narrowed down to the product of his brain. His wants, physically, are few. Money, to the blind man, outside of the actual comforts of life, is useless. His great desire is to win the praise of the seeing world, his only ambition to serve mankind and leave a name that his children may honor.

Edison, the greatest inventor of this or any age, is great because he is able to concentrate his mind. And he was able to do this because he was totally deaf. Beethoven composed his greatest symphony after he was totally deaf. The late Joseph Pulitzer, one of the greatest editors and newspaper owners, starting as a poor boy, attained distinction while totally blind. William Scanlin, the manager of one of the greatest charitable institutions in the world, the Light House, in New York, is blind. Dr. Edward D. Campbell, head of department of chemistry at the University of Michigan, is blind. A former Postmaster General of England was blind. Doctor Babcock, of Chicago, the great heart specialist, is blind. One of the most able brains the United States Senate ever had, Thomas P. Gore, of Oklahoma, is blind.

As a rule the hearing of the blind is most minute, keen, and accurate for the ear must compensate for the loss of sight. Thus the blind know their friends, by voice, by their step, by some little peculiarity that to the seeing has gone entirely unnoticed. A familiar, facetious remark to the blind is, "You don't know what I look like." Strictly speaking, from a physical standpoint outside of their height or breadth they may have us on this, that is, we wouldn't know the color of their eyes or their hair, but we would know the color of their vibrations, which would intuitively register in our mind the sort of character. I have had men ask me to tell them what their faces looked like and have been able to pretty well give them the facial contour, and general characteristics of their nature, by an examination of their hand. Thus, the handshake, together with the voice gives us a fair and working idea of the person presented.

Time and again, during my public life, I have intuitively said, "Friend," or "Foe," and have through careful observation of later developments, found that my impression was correct. There are so many little variations in the human voice that to the highly sensitive ear is a tell-tale. Then, too, upon this line, the seeing are at a great disadvantage, because they have trained themselves to pass the inspection of the eye; they dress for the eye. They assume attitudes and characteristics which through practice have come to pass the inspection of the eye. They learn to express or give off no expression through the face, so that the eye can not tell whether they hold a pair of deuces or a full house, but they have had no thought of the inspection of the ear. The voice records the vibrations of the soul, and the soul will not lie, and like a delicate instrument indicates. The seeing having this faculty, yet not having been forced to rely upon it, do not use it individually. But when congregated in mass, the eyes being sated, and the ears becoming the connecting medium, it unconsciously develops as a group faculty, and it is this judgment that accepts or refuses the actor or speaker on the basis of his truth or falsity. This will explain why the connoisseur or critic of music, of acting or public speaking will unconsciously close his eyes to get the true impression.

In the practice of law, and I understand that to be the ambition of many of you, you will find that your sensitive ears will give you the key to the winning of many lawsuits, for cases are often lost or won through cross-examination. Therefore, it is a great problem in the mind of the practicing lawyer to know when to cross-examine and especially to know upon what part of the testimony to direct his attack. Time and again you will hear a lawyer remark, "If I hadn't cross-examined that fellow, I'd have been all right," or, "I wish I had continued my cross-examination until I made him reveal what I feel sure he was concealing." If in your opinion a witness is telling the truth, it's a pretty good formula to follow to let him alone, except as to straighten some little point that may not be vital. If you are convinced that he has lied, and his lies are vital to the point at issue, you'd better go in and take him over the road of cross-examination, and you will find that your keen ear will give you the point in the witness's testimony that is fabrication. For, almost all witnesses, in the main, are telling the truth, and it is only upon those points that may be vital wherein they'll attempt to back and fill. Take a given number of people witnessing a happening, their versions, though honest, will not be alike, and an unscrupulous witness may attempt to profit by this well-known fact, and you will be able to more easily put your finger upon the place where he begins to deviate, for the ear will tell you what the eye had failed to disclose; also you will find that your hearing will stand you in good stead in dealing with the seeing lawyer.

Lawyers are very much human. They are a great bunch of bluffers and will bully and tenaciously fight each other, even sometimes becoming personal over their respective clients' claims, while outside of business they may be very good friends. My business in the main since the loss of my sight has been

the handling of personal injury claims and has thus brought me in contact with highly paid corporation lawyers in the trial of these cases or their amicable adjustment. If your client has a visible injury, such as an arm or a leg off, where it is impossible to deny to the eye the injury, there is very seldom in their opinion any liability. If a client happens to have an internal injury there'll be no injury and they can prove it by seven or eight of the best doctors, as well as no liability. Of course the above is the general rule, as exceptions prove. But with their opinion being that of absolutely no liability and little or no injury still they are willing, representing such magnanimous open-hearted and humane corporations, to talk settlement if you'll be reasonable. And having prided myself on being reasonable and afterwards having proved it by doubling the amount in verdict, I have been able to get together and settle many worthy cases with these greater legal lights of my State; and in many of these settlements I have been able to secure more approximately the value in money, as far as that can compensate, of the injury of my client because my hearing was very good and because I have been able to read, in their voice, that they had not reached the limit in their offer and that they would no doubt pay seven instead of five thousand before they'd go to court. Thus your accurate hearing, boys, will help, when you get to the practice of law, for with it you will be able to detect the weak point of the seeing opponent.

But to get back to our assigned subject. At 12 I couldn't read, for I had been too busy earning my living. I could pick out the words on signs or headlines in newspapers when there was to be a circus, a horse-race, or a baseball game, or a prize fight, but I could not write. I was always interested in things political. When Blaine ran for President, Dad always having been a Republican, I was; so I marched in the procession, carried a torchlight bigger than myself, and kicked up a hurrah with the rest of the crowd. When the speech was over I was one of the first to scramble onto the platform. Men tried to push me away, little dirty ragamuffin that I was, but great-hearted, democratic Blaine, holding firmly my dirty little hand and looking earnestly in my eager eyes, said, "When I shake hands with the boys of America I am shaking hands with her future great men." "Great men." The words stirred the first germs of ambition. I treasured them in my heart and often pondered them.

I came up earning my way through common school and high school, and university and law school. I blacked shoes, sold newspapers, gathered buffalo bones on the prairies of Minnesota, picked up old iron, sold books, sold clothes, cleaned furnaces, milked cows, hoed potatoes, herded cattle, broke bronchoes, worked in the harvest field, drove oxen on the farm, put in one whole summer raising onions on a piece of rented land, and the profit, after expenses and board were paid, for my whole summer's work amounted to 15 cents, so I understand something of the problems of the farm; cleaned spittoons in a saloon, sawed wood with a bucksaw at 75 cents a cord, ran a hand laundry, an ice cream stand, worked in a brick yard, did janitor work, sold bath cabinets, played bush-league ball, for which I was well paid, and which gave me my first taste of a gentler life. In 1899 for 18 intercollegiate games of baseball I won the bat with an average of .526, which to any baseball man is a proof of the condition of my sight at that time. I won \$25 and a cow in a prize fight at Ortonville, Minn., against a pugilist of some repute.

I also captured some money through prizes won at wrestling. Anything to help me toward the goal for which I was aiming. For the sake of the money, I entered and won prizes in every oratorical contest that came off during my time at the University of Minnesota. Three times I represented my State in interstate oratoricals, winning a third, a second, and a first at these larger contests. Life was one hard, grim struggle for daily bread. I never had time to play as a child or as a lad in school. Even to-day I never feel the chill of twilight, the gray hour when lights begin to gleam and people are hurrying home to their hot dinners, without a homesick feeling, a memory of the days when I had no home and no dinner to go to.

How I used to long for the time when, my education completed, my profession attained, I should be able to take my ease, invite my soul, enter the fellowship of men of attainment, see the world, enjoy the fruits of my toil. At last the time seemed at hand. I was succeeding. Clients had begun to seek me out. I was taking a place and holding it among the lawyers of my State. We had saved enough money with which to buy a home of our own. My office was well stocked with books of law and I was about to form an advantageous law partnership, which would have brought me in contact with clients of means. Just about the time when it seemed I could reach out my hand and take the success I had toiled all my

life to attain, like a bolt from the blue came the electric shock that seared out my sight. I wanted to quit, and if it had not been for the love, the tender understanding of my brilliant little classmate and life mate, of me and my passing ordeal, I think I would have quit. Morning after morning when I could sleep, I awakened, as I realize many of you who are young in blindness are doing, opened my eyes, wondering if it was still dark, heard the sounds and felt the atmosphere but saw not the light of day, then, with the terrible rush of consciousness that day would never dawn again for me, the battle had to be fought all over. At each new waking I was overwhelmed anew, shocked anew.

I felt as I have since found the greater part of the unreflecting world to think, that a blind man is useless and only a burden upon the seeing world and that therefore I had a right to wrap the drapery of my couch about me and lie down to pleasant dreams, for the unrestrained independence of my whole life revolted at the bondage. I had always been able to make things go, to drive them to my will and conclusions and ultimate purpose, and now, to be led, to have to wait, to be kept from accomplishment by trivial material fetters, to have to form conclusions received through eyes in whose judgment I had no confidence—to be held of slight consequence by those whom I but a short time ago dominated, physically and mentally, to have the same men who but yesterday hailed me with delight and enthusiasm, avoid me. Sympathy? Yes, but who the hell wants sympathy. We want acknowledgment of merit. It is not how far you can see but the chemistry of sight that counts, it is how far your vision, how sound your judgment, how deep your understanding of the human heart. Not in getting and spending is our merit shown, but the goal we set ourselves, as the instrument of God in its attainment, and irritated by what to me then seemed to be an incurable resentment, I seriously pondered whether it was nobler in the mind to suffer the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune or to take arms against a sea of troubles and by opposing end them, and I reasoned that I would be doing those dependent upon me a service by ridding them of an insurmountable burden. However, I felt it my duty to be sure there was no hope of sight returning and so began the round of doctors and cures. I went all over the country and all "gave the thing they could not cure a name" and I paid and paid and paid until the reserve of our earnings had been exhausted. I sold my library, borrowed money of friends. The game seemed to me to be up and I pondered feasible means to leave my memory, for the sake of those I loved, untarnished by such an act, when an eminent doctor in Milwaukee examined me and gave me the way. He said, "I can perhaps cure you. I have successfully performed a similar operation where a man was struck by lightning. It will be necessary to go down between the lobes of the brain to do it. If I get through, without injury to the brain, I am confident I can restore your sight. But the chances are strongly against it, perhaps one, two, three out of ten that I will get through safely."

It would, no doubt, seem strange to the seeing, but you who sit there in the darkness, I know, will understand when I tell you that his diagnosis was a great beacon light of hope to me. I had found an honorable way out or the way back to sight. I told the doctor I would think it over. I went back to Minneapolis and held council with my pal and I said to her, "What are we going to do? Shall I sell lead pencils?" and she retorted, "I should say not, Tom. We're going to practice law. I will be your eyes. You have your profession. You can try a lawsuit as well without your sight as you could with it, in a short time, I am sure. People will trust a blind man, if he has the ability, with their business just as quick as a man with sight." We had great confidence. We did not yet know how instinctively the seeing man distrusts a blind man's ability. He gets most of his impressions through his eyes, and can not comprehend how understanding can be arrived at in any other way. The seeing person, as a rule, carries his knowledge in books or notes. The blind person may not be so formidable in a free-for-all scramble, where he can not take advantage of a situation the eye develops, and thus must await the ordered opportunity, but, as that great poet, blind Milton, has well put it, "he also serves who only stands and waits," so it was decided that we would go back and try the practice of law. Secretly I felt a great calm, for I had in reserve two options, one, the return of my sight with which I knew I could succeed, the other, an honorable discharge.

A lawyer friend who had an office lately vacated told me the amount of rent, phones, and stenographer and said to move in and pay when I could. So I went back to the practice of law, broke, worse than broke, in debt, and blind. It was a weary road. It was like learning to walk all over again. I

worked along in darkness a good deal harder than when I had my sight. I had to. In fact, a blind man's mind rests only when he sleeps, since he must feel with it and see with it, ever on guard, alert, for the little indirect thing that will guide him to the true conclusion that he must have in order to cope with the seeing. I never realized what a weak flabby thing the seeing brain is. I was normal, perhaps a little above normal, having taken honors in my class. But, like every other seeing person, I had always depended upon my sight, not my memory, and when I had to rely upon my memory, I found it was like a muscle that had atrophied from lack of use. I would say to Mrs. Schall, when I was preparing a case, "Read that again." And she would read it again, and I would try to gather the essential parts so that I would know them, not merely know where they could be found, but I'd have to ask her to read it again, and again, and again, until at last, after stupendous efforts, the flabby old brain tissue strengthened until it could stand alone.

Some of the courts, feeling friendly toward me, appointed me at the State's expense to defend persons charged with crime. Among these were some spectacular cases which I succeeded in winning which brought me other clients of the same sort, and my revenue increased rapidly, so that at the end of the third month I was able to give to my friend who had so kindly staked me, my office rent. Confidence began to return, for in the trials of these criminal cases I again secured my hold learning how to make my way before the court and juries though blind. But there was no future in this criminal practice, and I decided that I must take up some other branch of the law and make myself proficient in that. I realized no moneyed concern would pay good fees to a handicapped lawyer, so therefore I knew that were I to succeed as a lawyer my clients must be of the common folk. Thus God, again, regardless of my ambitions replanted me among the common people, where He meant me to serve. I saw great corporations paying large retainers to our most able lawyers for the defense of personal injury cases, and I said to myself that I shall match the ability and understanding of the law of these men in this one specific branch and take up the fight for the laboring man who would understand me and I him, for we have come the same way. And I laid for and got hold of some personal injury cases that other lawyers had rejected, and by diligent and constant application to the facts and the law, prepared these cases for trial, and won them. Other personal injury cases soon began to come, and my success with juries was extraordinary—securing some of the largest verdicts and settlements in the State. I may not be a profound all-around lawyer, but when it comes to personal injury law and getting the verdicts I take my hat off to none, and the corporation lawyers of my State I am sure will bear testimony as to my having relieved their corporations of hundreds of thousands of dollars for the benefit of injured employees; therefore you can understand at the outset why I was so very popular with the vested interests and corporations, who did not leave a stone unturned to keep me from Congress.

That is why, outside of the fact that I had not been anointed by the gang, in my first race for Congress the daily newspapers, as your chairman mentioned, never even published my name. One of them on one occasion got so magnanimous as to state that there is also a Progressive running. And to-day, no matter what I do or say, the great press of my State, with the exception of a friendly scribe here and there who occasionally gets something by, despite the policy is silent, unless they can give a slant to my doings or sayings that they think will hurt me; for they suspect, as your chairman has suggested, that should the common folk of my State become acquainted with me and my work, that the more powerful office of Senator might fall within my jurisdiction; so every effort is exerted and is being exerted since they can not unseat me from where I am, to see to it that I acquire no further leverage by coming into the more powerful office of the Senate of the United States.

But despite the attitude of the press I have steadily grown in the confidence of my constituency. In 1914, over the machine candidates Republican and Democratic, I won only by a plurality of 1,407 votes. As your chairman said, I had no newspaper support, nor organization, all the speeches made in my behalf were made by myself, amounting in number to 237. If I had not had an iron constitution, a chest like a keg, been totally blind and absolutely insane, I never could have done it. Insanity is only a question of majority. But after the votes were counted I became tolerable and with each succeeding election have become more sane until judging by majorities I should have become, not only sane, but safe and sound.

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In 1916, having been a Republican all my life, I tried to file on the Republican ticket, but the secretary of state under orders of the gang refused to allow me to so file, having had the insufferable audacity to offer myself the election before as an Independent Progressive Republican. But despite my non-party affiliations, my district returned me over the two old machine candidates by a plurality of a little better than 9,000.

In 1918 I was urged by my friends to become a candidate for the United States Senate, and opposition to the senior Senator offered inducement if I would announce myself as a candidate for that high office. I, of course, had no idea of taking such a step, feeling sure that outside of the people of my district whom I had been able to reach by speech, I was little known since the papers had kept me and anything I had done carefully repressed. I wondered at the time why a delegation of men whom I knew had vigorously opposed me during my last two elections had come all the way from Minneapolis to my office in Washington and seemed suddenly so friendly. They avowed that I had made good and that they had never understood me before; and they wanted to see that I got a chance to get back into the Republican party, where I belonged. I retorted that I would not be allowed to file on the Republican ticket, for the same situation existed now as existed two years ago, and if there was any foundation to the refusal to let me file two years ago it was certainly of the same vital effect to-day. They replied that they could fix it so that the secretary of state would accept my filing. But I insisted that it was my understanding that the supreme court would have thrown me out had I insisted on filing on the Republican ticket, to which they suavely replied that they thought it could all be arranged. I can see now what I could not believe then, that they were determined to keep me from filing for the United States Senate and were making the path so smooth and straight for the regular Republican nomination to Congress in my district that the line of least resistance would naturally lead me to the acceptance of that nomination, and I finally consented to offer my filing, which I found with no little surprise was accepted with alacrity. My millionaire opponent, whom they evidently had not taken into their confidence of manipulation frothed over at the mouth, and believing that he knew something of the attitude of the supreme court, immediately proceeded to have the supreme court erase my name as a Republican candidate. But the best-laid plans of mice and gang candidates gang aft a-gley, and behold the supreme court decided that I was a Republican, thus giving me the distinction and honor of being the only Republican in the State vouched for as such by the highest lawgiving power of that State.

I never knew who it was defended my cause before the Supreme Court, but I do know that it was done well and that I became the Republican candidate without open or violent opposition by the gang, for had I been defeated in the primaries for the nomination I would then have been at liberty to run independent for the United States Senate. It was therefore, in the opinion of the gang, of vital necessity in being assured of my not being a candidate for the United States Senate to see to it that I secured that Republican nomination for Congress in the tenth district, which I did almost unanimously.

I was elected by a majority of over 26,000. In 1920, I was returned on the Republican ticket (though a vigorous fight was put up against me by the same gang that were so anxious to see to it that I was a regular Republican two years before) by over 40,000, and I make no doubt that my way will be made smooth for the return to my present seat in Congress this coming election, since the other United States Senatorship is up for the decision of the people, for it is no secret that a great host of friends are urging me to make the run. Upon the thought of the possibility of that terrible catastrophe, well-authenticated proffers have been made to me from those who know how to handle conventions of the indorsement to my present seat of the Republican preprimary convention, a shrewd bit of legislation passed by the last State legislature to regain the slipping reins of control back into the hands of the manipulators.

In our State we have a direct primary, and the bosses well knew that they could not get away with its out-and-out repeal, which they would have gladly done and gone back to the good old days of conventions, which produced amenable candidates, though too often mediocre, newspaper-made heroes, headliners, wherein you are told of the wonderful fights they are putting up in State or Nation, when in reality the only struggle that takes place consists in arranging the type and deciding the momentous question of how large it should be—"Safe and sane, a big man for a big job"—you know the sort of stuff; but they carefully refrain from adding, "for big business." They were

forced to content themselves with a preconvention, wherein they could name their candidates as the particular choice of the party and have his name go on the ballot of the direct primary as the party's loyal candidate, thus giving such a candidate a decided advantage before the unsuspecting voter, in the direct primary to be held later, because it gives a rallying point for the basis of publicity.

Thus with my friends and my enemies both for me, I anticipate no struggle in securing the Republican nomination in June, but after that, when the doors to the Senate nomination are closed, I make no doubt I shall have an opponent well supplied with campaign funds, who will take the field against me, not in the hope of defeating me, but to have a pretense from which to distribute the maligning, tearing-down propaganda that it is hoped will siuge, retard, or stunt the sprouting wings of ambition, for in 1924 another United States Senatorship is at stake. But I am not ambitious. I am perfectly well content to stay where I am, for the salary of the United States Senator is no more than I receive in the House. True, if I am of good in the House, I would be twenty fold that service in the Senate, because a Senator is a large animal in Washington, while a mere Congressman is of slight consequence in comparison, and his power for good or evil thereby measured. I am not anxious to get into a State-wide campaign, where the only offset I have to an unfriendly press is my own voice. For what would years of an honest, consistent progressive record in Congress avail could it not be known to the people, while if I stay in my own district it's not so large but what I can by extended effort reach the people through speech and correct the well-fed opposition continually and vigorously at work distorting and undermining.

The plain people of my district believe in me because for eight years I have fought their battles, and they know that I have a standing offer of \$1,000, and it's never been challegned, to any one who can point out in my record one place where I voted against labor or farm, or have failed to champion the cause of the ordinary fellow.

In my present position, as the fellow says, "I'm sitting pretty," not only because of the overwhelming approbation of my course expressed by the voters of my district, but in the House I am ranking Republican member of the Flood Control Committee, one of the regular standing committees of the House. Our present chairman, Congressman Rodenberg of Illinois, will not be a candidate for reelection, therefore I shall be in my fifth term chairman of the Flood Control, if seniority is the rule, and I make no doubt it will be.

I am also a Member of the Rules Committee, the nozzle through which legislation gets before the House. Three times I have been elected to this powerful committee, by a majority of the Members of the House. The membership of this committee is most carefully picked since through its deliberations the administration must, to a large measure, shape its policy, and only men who have strong influence back of them, who have been tried and not found wanting, who have developed through years of service a leadership ability and are known to be soundly conservative are so fortunate as to be elected to this most powerful committee, none of which qualifications secured my membership. But through the providence of circumstance my vote had become a strong factor in the organization of the War Congress. Twice before, the House had been so evenly divided, and on these occasions it took weeks and weeks to organize and put it in condition to transact public business. As the time drew near for the Congress to convene the war clouds grew darker and heavier. The grey hordes were overrunning Europe. There was no time to be lost. I went up to New York to consult my friend Theodore Roosevelt. He said to me, "Schall, I think the people would resent my advising you. I don't like to suggest what I think you should do, for it is clear to me what a sacrifice it would mean politically, what ostracism, distrust, and disappointment would flow from it, what courage it would require. But I doubt the wisdom of giving the Democrats a chance to make the Republicans scapegoats in this war. They inherited it. They should have the praise or bear the onus. It's just to the administration that he be not interfered with. His movements should be definite and quick, not hindered by party opposition."

The Senate was democratic, the President democratic. Should the House go Republican, while it would mean the loaves and fishes, the coveted chairmanships for my friends, my Republican colleagues who had been kind to me, yet with that would go the chance of delay in getting the great war machine in motion.

Selfish and personal interests pointed me to support the Republican candidate. But I felt that they should weigh nothing against my country's necessity. If the Democrats lost the organization of the House, it meant the disruption

and overhauling of all the House committees, while if they kept it, the machinery was set, oiled, and ready for immediate action, composed of the administration's own party, men upon whom he should rely for counsel, instead of men of an opposing party, whose policies might clash, and give the spark that in the charged and heated atmosphere would explode the magazine of war against us instead of the enemy. It was no time for petty politics, no time to consider the loaves and fishes. The time of great things was upon us. Whether a man was a Republican or Democrat was of no consequence. Champ Clark was a clean, square, fair-dealing Speaker. He would preside over a House nonpolitical, dealing with war questions.

I had to pray God to help me get upon my feet and raise my voice and do this thing I knew should be done. It was hard. I hated to do it. If I had been able to look into the indignant eyes and accusing faces, and seen the grief, surprise, disappointment, and dislike of my Republican colleagues. I doubt if I could have had the courage to do it. But when the time came, with God's help, I nominated and cast my vote for Champ Clark for Speaker, thus putting the machinery of a Democratic House back of the Democratic President and Senate, and thus, as your chairman has indicated, helping to land our boys at Chateau Thierry in time to save Paris. With the political complexion of my district as it was, I thought at the time it was putting a noose around my neck, but it was a slight thing to offer up a political carcass, when we were about to call to the sacrifice upon the field of battle the best of our youth.

And in the outcome, Chateau Thierry proved I was right. I say this not to boast or vaunt, but because I realize you young men back there in the dark, some of whom were in that great world decisive battle, who have proven your loyalty by your great sacrifice realize that it is right to stand for what you believe, to die for what you believe.

Most of the Republicans in Congress, at the time, could not construe my action as anything but deep-dyed party disloyalty, for they did not know that I owed nothing to the regular Republican organization of my State. Rising in indignation, they left the space all around me empty, so I sat alone, a thing scorned and apart, the earlier months of that session, except for a few bigger Members who by an occasional word or friendly touch would indicate they understood.

Among these was the one who personally lost most by my vote—that fearless, just, strong, and brilliant leader of men, the most able parliamentarian the House has known, a true friend, a resourceful and relentless opponent, but with a heart of understanding, that knew instantly right from wrong, the Republican candidate for Speaker, Jim Mann.

Another who understood, and had the courage to let me know—and it brought me no little consolation—was that big-souled, big-hearted, big-minded American—Martin Madden, of Illinois. Later man after man came to me and said, "Schall, you saw farther sightless than we did with our physical vision. You were right to stand by your country, regardless of party."

To show me that I was right, the following Republican Congress reelected me to the Rules Committee, where the Democrats had placed me in recognition of my action in the organization of the War House, and to further cement the proposition that it pays to stand for what you believe to be right regardless of what the environment of the present indicates to your own best good, the Republican majority again elected me to this coveted committee the following Congress, and I make no doubt that the next Congress, if Republican, will again assign me to this powerful committee. Thus, as a member of the Rules Committee and the chairman of a regular standing committee, the Flood Control, I could not, if I were permitted to choose my committees, place myself in a more advantageous situation. I am therefore quite naturally very content to remain secure in the backing of the voters of my district as a Member of the House, and am not particularly desirous, as your chairman's remarks might have led you to believe, to try for the greater office of United States Senator, unless it is in some way pointed out to me by the Divinity of Circumstances that it is my duty as an instrument of that Force to make the attempt; for no one knows better than I the double rocky road over which I'd be forced to travel to that end. The gang of the fat boys who from instinct have always fought me will certainly not have their opinion changed through a search of my eight years' record.

A few of the leaders of the lean boys in control of the policies of their great press, whose ultimate radicalism privately adhered to carries them beyond my conception of reform, for I am not a socialist, but whose publicly advocated policies are in the

main wholly feasible, and have throughout my record, received my hearty indorsement, should publicly be for me if they are sincere in their principles advocated to the people.

But though they know that my labor record is one hundred per cent; that I have by voice and vote always battled in the interest of the farm and have consistently stood for real constructive progressive legislation, for a square deal to all, along the lines they publicly advocate, yet because of socialistic bias are barely lukewarm, "damn me with faint praise," or only use me to help their position. They know that the fat boys haven't handled me and can't handle me and they've good reason to believe that they can't.

For they know that I came to Congress without the aid of gang or organization and that I have remained in Congress in spite of the most powerful, selfish opposition. That no one has a five cent piece invested in my congressional seat, that no gang, clique, organization, man or corporation has any strings on me, for no one ever thought it possible for me to get to Congress, in the first place, and so paid no attention to me. After I did get there my opponents were very sure it was a mistake which they could easily rectify in the next election and that I had won through sympathy. But I haven't noticed that Congress is an eleemosynary institution and I have never in any way, shape, or form, asked a vote upon that consideration, for I can make more money at the practice of law. Thus, through the providence of circumstances, I came into Congress as its most independent Member, as my record will bear out, and so long as I remain in Congress I shall continue that independence with the light that God gives me to see the right, regardless of consequences as foreseen by the petty vision of men, and I believe that if I am to be the instrument for further and higher service in that same Congress that I shall in some way be given the sign, and the way provided for a part in that higher work, as free and independent from selfish control or manipulation as I have been in my present position.

For I can now understand, after years of darkness, that God had in His mysterious way preserved me from the road of materiality. I believe that I am peculiarly fitted to carry out some mission. For I know the common man's burden, having come up with him through all the vicissitudes of life. I have exceptional ability of public speech. The foolish may think this a boast, but I assure you that I am very humble in its assertion and only make it in explanation of why some of the things have happened to me, which may be of service to you, for I realize that such ability is no credit to me, but is only an equipment with which I came into the world. I have a high dome in the roof of my mouth, which serves as a fine sounding board for speech. My jaw is hung on loosely, so that it waggles easily. My education is sufficient with which to get over the message, provided my understanding and intuition is delicate enough to receive it. There is no credit, my friends, personally in the kind of an instrument we are. The bulldog should have no credit for being a bulldog any more than the hunting dog should have credit for having a fine nose. It is only a question of the fitness of the instrument for service designated.

In the first place, I know that without God's guidance and help I never would have succeeded in reaching Congress. I know that when I attempted to turn the natural ability of speech that had been given me into the troughs of personal gain, I was hindered, struck down by a handicap that seemed to me then insurmountable. But when proper humility and a desire to serve had taken the place of arrogance and selfishness, I found myself the champion of the humble folk, the cobbler, carpenter, mechanic, and laborer in general, in factory and on railroad, instead of the wealthy employer or corporation, as had been my ambition, and in their defense I recaptured my young ideals and again understood why the simple garments of Dorcas had outweighed material gain.

For most natures harden, deteriorate under wealth, prosperity, and ease. Mine had been no exception. When material circumstances improve men fail spiritually. Instead of showing higher traits when bodily comforts increase, they degenerate, become greedy, indifferent, hard, and thereby dwarf their soul and limit the possibility of its development.

Man has greater possibilities than he knows; complete realization comes out under trial. It taps his subconscious and superconscious powers. All have latent qualities of strength, unguessed till drawn against. We are not here to be selfishly happy, but rising higher the more bitterly we are tested we reach at last, if we are strong and endure, the heights of unselfishness and nobility.

The removal of the sight throws a determined man back upon his mind or his understanding, and through the mind he will come in contact with his soul, and through its feeling with the breadth of the Infinite, and he will see and hear and

understand the things that are denied to mere sight. For his mind reaches into solitude, whence comes meditation, contemplation, insight, and inspiration, for he is so used to adversity that he knows how to bear disappointment and make the best of life, which in its best is disappointment. The plan of the universe in the redemption of us all is adversity. It's not on flowery paths of ease nor in the smile of the world in material prosperity that the soul in man or woman is carved, but on the rough and sharp stone-strewn road, where we are forced to walk with unprotected feet, that we learn life's lessons and blessings, which gives us intuition to draw upon the greater and cleaner thoughts that are among us, but too often not of us.

God, no doubt, and I say this in all simplicity, has some mission for me to perform, as he has for all of us. It may be small or it may be great, but it is in proportion as we have the strength to carry the cross assigned to us. If we have a little, weak, spindly pair of legs we have a little load. If we have a good strong back and a good stout pair of legs we have a load in proportion to our strength. Each of us thinks that ours is the hardest. Even the Son of Mary prayed, "Oh Lord, if possible take this cup from me," but immediately added, through the strength of spirit, "nevertheless, Thy will, not mine, be done."

I stand to-day disciplined by such teachings, as willing and as ready as I can, to take on and do to the best of my ability whatever may seem best under the plan of God in the interest and progress of mankind. I have lost my sight, but through that loss I have gained my soul, and I would rather have the understanding thus acquired than all the eyes in the world. For the inward sight more than compensates for the outward loss. Of course, I would like to see, but I would not trade back on the same basis—for the things of earth are temporal, the soul is eternal.

To those who stand for reform, if they are sincere, my record in Congress should be all that they require, and much more to the point of principles advocated than mere promises.

Thus I stand on No Man's Land between the great press guns of warring factions, each intent on substituting in public office men who will work out the selfish ideas and drive under the reins of a few bosses, either fat or lean. Then, too, I insist on staying in the Republican party, and believe that reform can quicker come about by the people taking control of that party, which they can easily do under the direct primary law in our State, if they did not allow manipulators to arraign them against one another, causing them to strike down, in their confusion, their friends. If the fight is between a Progressive and a Reactionary, the powers that be will see to it that one or more other Progressives file, dividing a majority into a minority.

Thus you can understand how utterly hopeless a State-wide campaign appears to me, for Minnesota is a very large State and I have no way of reaching the ear of the people but by my voice. If I had lots of time, I might be willing to try, but with Congress steadily in session, as has been the case since I have been a Member, such a campaign would be impossible, so the allusion of your chairman to the United States senatorship as ever coming my way seems to me at this time to be far remote.

But who can tell? Perhaps two years from now, when the senior Senator will again be up for election, the people may have come to understand, for they are fast driving in that direction, the unreliability of newspapers in the guidance of their vote except to indicate whom they should vote against, and in that case I ought to have the best of it and may decide to get in, for they will all be after me, which ought to insure my election.

As I told you at the outset of this talk, I am a firm believer in the Divinity that shapes our ends. I believe that we are all instruments in the hands of the Great Intelligence to work out, not only our individual advancement, through adversity, sorrow, and pain, but the betterment of our brethren along the way, and that, according to our fitness, God uses us to carry forward His plan.

For history is only the handwriting of God and men and women merely the instruments with which He writes. It has taken centuries through the clumsy instrument of weak mankind for Him to have brought the conditions of the world to where the development of the individual could be accomplished in great numbers. It's only about 150 years ago that God, through the instrumentality of the human being was able to get together enough harder and nobler souls, upon whose understanding He could impress the idea of a government where the development of the individual would make for the development of the soul.

He gathered here on a land wonderfully prepared and stored for all emergencies, reserved and kept apart for the special purpose, the braver souls of all the world, for fearlessness is an attribute of God and all his teachings are of independence of the soul. For the purpose of the development of that independence he left mankind free to choose between good and evil. It took us nearly 2,000 years with the guidance of the Carpenter's Son to come to the conception of a government for the people, by the people, and of the people.

The patriotic and noble men of the Revolutionary days, simple in faith, simple in life, hence able to catch through their greater intuition the conception of the great purpose for the existence of humanity upon this earth, wrought finer than they knew that inspired instrument, the Constitution of the United States. It may not be perfect, no human work is perfect, but the instruments of humanity through whom God is working out his plan are coming more and more to understand, more and more to strive for perfection, for it is the desire that builds and ever holding fast to that which is proven good, we must work our way out, little by little, step by step, as we enlarge to souls capable of receiving the greater and greater light. The Constitution of the United States is the bulwark of individual liberty, giving scope to initiative and desire, to the development of independence, to the carrying out of God's plan.

This Government, built upon the teachings of the lowly Nazarene, has gone forth to the governments of the world as His lessons spread among mankind. Over forty republics have already followed our example; and in the fulfillment of that God-given purpose the world, through the influence of the United States, will come to understand that through protection of the inalienable rights of the individual, "echoes will roll from soul to soul and grow forever and forever," to the ultimate completion, "Peace on earth, good will towards men."

NOMINATION OF PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT BY THE PEOPLE.

I think that I have perhaps complied with your chairman's request to tell you how I got to Congress and how I have stayed there, and to a limited extent what I have seen there and something of my hopes and ambitions.

But I have not, as I remember his instructions, told you what seems to me to be the great thing to preserve this greatest country in the world, the instrument of God's plan of government for the people, by the people, and of the people. I have always felt from the time my mind was trained enough to grasp the wonderful conception of our form of government a profound reverence for it, and in my early manhood was unable to figure out why it wasn't functioning as it seemed to me it should, why principles advanced by a party who were successful at the election were not put into effect, why it was that outside of some squabbling over tariff it didn't seem to matter if one party or the other were at bat. The same old injustices and flagrant disregard of the people's interests or rights was rampant. The party of Lincoln or the party of Jefferson seemed to amount in the sum total of its administration to the same old thing. I gladly hailed Theodore Roosevelt's leadership in 1912 in his fight for progress, and with aching heart by the manipulation of the powers that be I saw his leadership relegated. I did not then understand, as I now do, what it was in our form of national government that made possible this ruthless trampling of the peoples' wishes; and I could not at that time understand, but I do now, the import of his attempted assassination at Milwaukee of that same year.

When I was in France in 1918, many underground passages having been revealed during the war shake-up, I learned that both Roosevelt and McKinley had been decidedly unpopular as President with all the European nations. Time permits to cite but one striking illustration.

I talked with a Frenchman whose daughter had been engaged to the son of a man within the inner circle of the German Empire and I was astounded at the revelation that in 1912 the Kaiser had given orders that under no circumstances should Theodore Roosevelt ever again be President of the United States. The foreign policy of President Taft was perfectly acceptable. The promised foreign policy of Woodrow Wilson was also satisfactory. All assistance should be given to Wilson, since he seemed the most likely to defeat the terrible Teddy, whose America first policies had more than once thwarted his ambitions and had outwitted him when he was about to seize by force the ports of Venezuela and found that Admiral Dewey and his fleet were there under orders of the President to prevent it and protect inviolate our American Monroe Doctrine.

This news greatly shocked and wrenched my complacency in our Government, and I was forced to contemplate how it could be possible for a President of the United States to be in any

way bound to another country that might involve the welfare of the Nation that has chosen him its Executive, and I naturally went back in my mind through all the original processes that go to make Presidents.

In my earlier thoughts I had surmised that different conflicting selfish interests had striven to secure their man for this high office, but had felt that they would neutralize each other in a tolerably healthy result. But I had had no idea that selfish foreign interests had been able to take a hand in our conventions for the nomination of our Presidents.

The new light of danger roused me and I began to study the situation, analyzing the history of our Presidents, fitting together this thing and that that before I had not known how to catalogue or explain and the revelation was borne in upon me that selfish imperialism and the slimy ooze of international commercialism had found the weak place in the dike of personal liberty and from its great pressure was forcing its way through at a rate that threatens the submergence of our institutions.

As I studied further I began to realize that these great national conflicting interests that had formerly neutralized each other, now in spite of laws in restraint of trade unenforced because of stultification of the different arms of the executive, had combined into monster trusts, reaching into every line of commerce and, unsated in their greedy feeding upon the Nation's people and resources, had become international and were a part of the flood adding to the pressure whose purpose is to control our Presidents, lay out their policies, foreign and domestic, appoint their cabinet, name members of our Supreme Court, who have already in many instances usurped the functions of Congress, thus giving evidence of their power, if made up of the right personnel, to override Congress and even the Executive himself who may have made them, and like Louis XIV declare themselves the State.

To the millions of any nation on earth across the seven seas, this is the promised land. This the land and these the homes we love so well. "Lives there a man with soul so dead, who never to himself has said, this is my own, my native land."

But where virtue is there vice will stain her spotless purity, where liberty reigns there tyranny and sordid treason seek to undermine her stability and trail her fallen emblem in the dust. Foes within and foes without threaten. Foreign jealousies, greed, and the corruption of our trusted servants, vice, social discord are endangering through this rift the dike of our liberty.

But as surely as the sun rises will it shine upon millions and millions of her defenders, upon hearts ready to pour out the last drop of devoted blood that the name of freedom's home may be perpetuated. But it is not in the offering of blood that remedy can be wrought. We must reach the heart and understanding of those willing to give that blood that they may, through their votes, compel their Senators and Congressmen to amend the Constitution, doing away forever with the outworn, obsolete, antiquated convention for the nomination of our Presidents that makes possible through preconvention obligations, promises, and trades, this ever-widening gap. We must in the way ordained by that sacred Constitution, amend it to fit the needs of the present glaring danger and make safe the rule of the people through their chosen representatives by giving to them the power of nomination of their executive officer. Through such nomination they will reach their choice, not the choice of the anointed few. The people's choice will be responsible to them while the choice of international money-maddened industry will be responsible to it. It is only a question of time, if amendment is not had, until the growing unrest of the people will have us so divided in theories of remedy that some strong foreign imperial potentate will rear his throne upon our impotence to control and guide our destiny. Already there is a strong, virulent, steadily growing, never-dying propaganda, because engineered and guided by a definite never-relinquishing patient policy consistently adhered to through all the various ramifications of a mighty Nation, well nourished to that end by great massive fortunes, the interest of which, by specific bequest, is being used for that very purpose. The people have long and patiently been asking why something can not be done. Their voices are becoming more and more petulant and they are fast losing confidence in the form of our Government, for they can not understand why there has grown up in this country a commercial feudalism equal to that of the Middle Ages. Why a class levy tribute from the people to pay enormous fortunes on fictitious values in watered stocks, and through privileged chicanery, gambling, and distorted laws, have acquired untold wealth; why great reveling palaces cast their darkening shadows over hovels of poverty and despair? Why to-day in countless homes there is nothing but weariness and want, nothing but crusts softened by tears? Why, writh-

ing, wretched men and women, mournful, deformed children, blighted and hopeless in agony, cry for justice; why millions of crippled bodies, pitiful, unkempt little children, despondent, despairing American citizens, are asking in vain for relief in the most plentiful land in the world; why great combination power controlling mines, mills, forests, fisheries, food products of the world, and the highways of traffic over which they are carried are allowed to strangle everything deserving the name of competition? Why five great packing companies fix the price of every ox and every pound of steak in the United States? Why the great coal combination is allowed to charge three times the value of their product, when everybody knows that coal is produced in the car at the mouth of the mine from \$1.75 to \$3.25 per ton? Why we have continually presented to us the wonderful spectacle of farm products raised at an actual loss while their price to the consumer is as dear as when a greenback dollar was worth 20 cents?

Why are these combinations allowed to develop schemes for the forcing up of prices and the forcing down of earnings of labor and farm; why is this invisible, irresistible, unconquitable tyrant allowed to appear, in the eyes of the people, greater than the Government, and through the discontent generated increase the socialist idea by the thousand. Why is it that good, sane, sensible, honest business men because of their fear of socialism are forced to support in politics the men controlled by such manipulation, which in the end only means the swallowing up of their business, little or big, the destruction of their country, or the taking of it over by a foreign imperial power, or revolution and anarchy. Why is the poor devil of a farmer to-day unable to pay his taxes on soil the most fertile in the world? Why is it cheaper for him to burn the products of his farm instead of buying coal? Sympathy, brotherly interest, fair dealing, men have to and for one another, but these great monster combinations have nothing to do with these things for they can be run without sentiment.

What was it Theodore Roosevelt meant when he said: "We here in America hold in our hands the hope of the world, the fate of the coming years, and shame and disgrace will be ours if in our eyes the light of high resolve is dimmed and we trail in the dust the golden hopes of men. If we merely build upon this new continent another nation of great but unjustly divided material prosperity we shall have done nothing, and we shall do as little, if we merely pit the greed of envy against the greed of arrogance and thereby destroy the material well-being of us all."

What matter it if children and women do starve and freeze and helpless babes moan out their lives in misery. Let the barons of food and coal through their interests in great combinations add to their millions and increase the inventory of their luxuries.

I heard a great coal baron in Chicago, whose daily expenditure is enormous, on being asked why coal was so high, reply "That he had the coal and if the people wanted it they'd pay what he asked, regardless of what it cost him." These are the kinds of fellows that dictate the nomination of your Presidents.

The people are asking what shall be done? Shall they be answered, nothing? Shall we tell them there is no law for the emperor? But, boys, we have on our statute books passed by Republican legislatures laws to handle just that kind of fellows. In response to the peoples' demands, the Sherman Anti-trust Act was passed. The Supreme Court, the majority of whom were appointed by President Taft, after long and laborious study, interpolated into this just law the poisonous word, "reasonable," thereby rendering it perfectly harmless.

But the Representatives in Congress in carrying out the demand of the people, followed with the Clayton Act, which fixed up the ravages of the Supreme Court and again made manipulators in restraint of trade, criminals under the law. But the Supreme Court were so finicky as to what constituted evidence to convict that the law practically became useless. Meanwhile the years were going by and the gouging of the people continued, and Roosevelt, as President, conceived the idea of forming a Federal Trade Commission by an act of Congress, whose duty it would be to make investigation, and under the law such investigations should be competent as evidence before the court. But Roosevelt's effort along this line met stubborn resistance from the controlling stand-pat element in Congress, so that his dream of bringing these vampires to earth was never realized. Because Roosevelt brought to the people in his campaign of 1912 this pressing need, the first Congress of the Wilson administration put through such an act. After years of investigation the Federal Trade Commission had succeeded in securing convincing evidence of the most inhuman

and damning combinations in restraint of trade for the purpose of robbing the people that ever the mind of man conceived. Coal, oil, wool, shoe, packer, and other industries were among the indictments, and I wish I had the time to further enumerate, but for illustration I will use only the packers, and content myself by saying that they are not sinners above all Israel. It was shown they controlled 762 industries besides a great number in which they held less than the majority of the stock. Attorney General Palmer was forced to admit the evidence sufficient to convict, but what happened to this gang of criminals? Why, they were called in and slapped on the wrist and the matter was amicably settled by what is known as the consent decree, whereby the packers gave up ostensibly 10 lines of foodstuff in which they could only own 49 per cent of the stock, and if they wanted to own more they would have to be put to the extreme trouble of organizing another corporation or manipulating their control through banking directors sitting with the directors of the corporation. Thus, after a fight of years, the people have on the statute books a law, and they have in the archives in the Federal Trade Commission, the evidence that will bring these criminals to their knees. Then, why in God's name is it not done? To enforce laws, you must have one of the arms of the administration, which is a member of the Cabinet, the Attorney General.

Great combinations in restraint of trade or war profiteers would be greatly interested in who the personnel of this office are to be. Those interested in our foreign policy will be greatly concerned in the personnel of the offices of Secretary of State and Secretary of Commerce.

I was a delegate from my State to the Chicago convention, and I use this convention because I know about it. That convention, if the rank and file had had voice, would have nominated either Senator JOHNSON or General Wood, for wherever the rank and file of the party had expressed their choice it was overwhelmingly for one or the other of these two progressive Republicans. The convention at San Francisco was undoubtedly attended by the representative of the same interests at work, though perhaps they were more plentiful at Chicago, it being a foregone conclusion that no Democrat could be elected two years ago because they were irrevocably committed to the League of Nations and the people had been well sounded out by the great interests that make it their business to look after these things.

It does not matter what party name attaches to the convention, the same influences are at work to see to it that the nominee is the man they want, and the people can afterwards fight as hard as they please over which one of the chosen it will be.

I was requested by Senator JOHNSON to second his nomination at that Chicago convention and I know something of its internal workings because of my interest in him.

I have only the highest regard for President Harding. Personally, I am charmed by his gentleness and good-fellowship and in his easy-going way, I think he is a man of great ability and I believe him to be sincere in his attitude upon public questions, but I reserve the right to differ from him very materially twixt his conception and mine. My record in the House is very different, and, in a great part, absolutely opposed to his in the Senate. I have consistently spoken and voted upon the theory that prosperity should begin with the people and work up through, for history indisputably discloses that no reform has ever come about except through the people; his theory has, it has seemed to me, been that prosperity should begin from above and trickle down through.

Therefore when he became the nominee of the Republican convention, not with my vote, for I cast my vote every time for Senator JOHNSON, I could not have consistently supported him from the domestic standpoint, but I felt so deeply the far greater issue of whether we should continue our independence as a nation or be submerged in an entangling international plot, from which I could see nothing but trouble and war in the future, that I, with all the power I had, by voice and vote supported him for the Presidency of the United States, and in 47 speeches I told the common people of my district and elsewhere that I thought it was their duty to cast aside for the purpose of the election their views of domestic affairs and decide forever against entangling alliances with Governments who could not and would not understand us, and that I believed that we could be of more service to the world by keeping intact our institutions, ideals, and liberty.

The one big issue was our country's independence, and after that was irrevocably settled, which I thought the election would do, we could then take up our domestic affairs and thrash them out. The Republican platform, engineered through Senator BORAH, in constant touch with Senator JOHNSON, was a gar-

ment made to fit Senator JOHNSON and represented his attitude upon international affairs and was straight out against entrance into the league, and declared again for our nation's independence through the enforcement of the Monroe Doctrine and insisted upon our nation's right to control her internal affairs. President Harding was elected upon that platform by the most overwhelming vote ever given any President because there was no other place between that platform and the Democratic platform for the voter to go. The peoples' mandate was practically unanimous to keep away from entangling alliances.

It was rumored during the convention that there was enough foreign money represented at Chicago to pay off the German indemnity and that undoubtedly the object of such representation was the securing of the possibility of getting us some way, by back or side door, into the League of Nations, but the Republican platform was so clear upon this question that I could not believe it.

Rumor had it that we could easily make its entrance by means of The Hague tribunal, which under the jurisdiction of the league would amount to practically the same thing.

I, therefore, later watched with no little surprise, the development of the four-power pact. We entered the war with no desire of gain. England secured a third of the face of the world; Japan got her arms full; France filled her pockets, and Italy overloaded her lap. We got prohibition. Then why should we underwrite the spoils of the war for these nations? I gravely fear for the people of this country the future results of that war alliance. The Republican platform declared again for free tolls through the Panama Canal to our coastwise trade. In 1912, the Republican, Democratic, and Progressive platforms all declared for free tolls to our coastwise trade through this canal and Congress, in response to the unanimous demand of the people, passed such a law practically without opposition. Why was it that a short time afterward President Wilson came to Congress and asked the repeal of that act, saying, "that if they did not repeal it, he hardly knew how to handle the delicate diplomatic situation that might arise." Coastwise trade is nothing more or less than interstate commerce, and for any nation to tell us that we couldn't use the Mississippi or the Potomac for trade between our different States, would be at once resented by the people of the country. Then why is it not just as much foreign impudence when only the name is different? We own the Panama Canal because Roosevelt came into the President's chair unbound by preconvention, foreign interference.

After a man is President he is in a great deal better shape to contract for the good of his country than before he has secured the nomination, and a system of election that makes possible this dilemma certainly should be corrected at the earliest possible time. Think of it, boys. Had the Sterling-Graham sedition bill, which had already passed the Senate at the instigation of Attorney General Palmer, and which I, as a member of the Rules Committee, had a part in preventing getting before the House, become a law, men could have been hung for daring to advocate a change in our Government. They would have me up to-morrow.

Free speech and an unbridled press is one of the very bulwarks of our Constitution and must be maintained if we are to preserve in this world the rights of the individual. For it is the conflict of opinions that keeps steady the heart beat of our Nation. It is a peculiar anomaly that it is through this very freedom of speech opportunity is given for any one, either domestic or foreign, to spread propaganda by press, pulpit, or lecture platform, against our national life and prosperity. But we must meet it by better argument and we will be better prepared to meet it if the jury is all the citizens of the United States, working out their will and conclusions by the exercising of their citizenship in party nominations where at a general election the two schools of thought can fight out their differences for supremacy. For then it would be a matter of education for all the people and as Lincoln well put it, "you can fool some of the people some of the time, all of the people some of the time, but you can't fool all the people all the time."

It was American money and American perseverance and ingenuity that built the Panama Canal. Why is it that we can't to-day even row a canoe through it without paying for it just like any other Nation and why are our people taxed for the benefit of foreign nations. Senator BORAH has tried, without avail so far, to restore this right of the Nation. The nomination of our party candidates by the people would forever do away with foreign intrigues in our internal affairs, except so far as they could influence through propaganda.

Where there is so much talk of ship subsidy it may not be inappropriate to call attention to the fact that during the last part of the Wilson administration a Republican Congress and Senate passed a ship subsidy act, giving 10 per cent discount of duty to foreign goods coming into this country in American bottoms. This is a law to-day, was a law during a considerable part of Wilson's term. It has never been enforced, though it is a similar law to the one that has made Britain's merchant fleet the greatest in the world. Our recently acquired four billion dollar merchant marine, it seems to me, could be well occupied under the operation of this law, without waiting for Congress to take further action at a profit instead of our sustaining a great loss through its deterioration at the docks, and the dream of McKinley and Roosevelt to make us a maritime nation, furnishing outlet for our surplus products, started upon its fulfillment despite the manipulations of any competing nation in the world.

I have often wondered, for I have never been satisfied with the theory of the newspapers of the assassination of President McKinley, what motive was back of the act. President McKinley, after the Spanish-American War had outlined and was putting into effect a world-wide trade for the United States. He was in the act of enunciating to the Nation in his speech at Buffalo this plan of his to make us one of the great nations of the world when he was struck down by an assassin's bullet. Between the era of the Clipper-built yacht and the time of McKinley we had taken little interest in the development of world trade. McKinley, because of our surplus production, was rightly setting us upon a new era, and his death might have been thought to end such ambitions, but Theodore Roosevelt, then the Vice President of the United States, who had been placed by the powers that be in that office to get rid of him forever from being a candidate for the presidency of the United States, was ushered into that great office unbound and unconnected by preconvention promises and took up the fight where President McKinley had left off, in standing for America first, in enforcing the Monroe Doctrine, and in seeing to it that our citizens were respected the world over.

You all remember his ringing declaration to Morocco: We want our American citizen alive or your bandit dead; and we got our American citizen alive, you bet. But Theodore Roosevelt was greater in his administration than President McKinley, for he also took up the fight of the ordinary fellow in our domestic affairs, for through his influence the people of the country again began to realize hope, from the standpoint of the preservation of our personal liberties and economic rights and not as a partisan of any class of people, but for a square deal to all regardless of affluence or poverty.

He inaugurated a new vision of public life, shook the apathy of the cultivated class and the ingrained corruption of party politics; and by the sheer force of a masterful personality, unshackled by preconvention promises, compelled respect for our nation at home and abroad. He sent a thrill of electric energy throughout our own country which at one time saw in politics only a sordid career without honor or ideals. Like Lincoln, who came into the Executive chair under a great national passion, too big for preconvention interference, he was left free to use his best judgment as the issue presented itself.

Such a policy by Taft or Wilson in Mexican affairs would have settled things. Such a policy by Wilson at the beginning of the World War might have saved this country 125,000 of its youth, untold suffering, and billions of dollars. We must have, if our country is to endure, our executives free to act as God gives them the light to see their duty when the crisis comes, and not be tied down by any promises to any clique, organization, man, or foreign policy; and you will never be sure of this freedom of action in your Presidents until those Presidents are made responsible to the people and relieved from those obligations which of necessity they must accept to insure their nomination upon any party that has a chance of electing its candidate; and we are asking too much of human ambition to subject it to such temptation, and a Federal law should be had that will put a candidate for the Presidency of the United States, by making it a serious crime, beyond the reach of such bickering, double-crossing, skullduggery, crooked dealing, and offering of money and trading of offices by way of patronage or otherwise, as is the rule in vogue in our national conventions to-day.

Our national convention is beyond the jurisdiction of State government and is without the jurisdiction of Federal Government. They therefore meet upon a strip of no man's land over which there is no law or authority and the delegates are free to do anything their conscience will permit them to do. It is no crime in these national conventions to admit you

got the money, openly show it, and boast of it. How can the people ever expect real representation of them through bodies of this kind where the desires and wishes of the people are relegated and put to rout through determined selfish interest with unlimited resources at their command and where party platforms are too often made for election only, and too seldom carried out; where men who adopt the profession of political bosses, whose services are for sale as any other profession, manipulate the delegates of their respective States. The majority of these delegates are good American citizens, who feel it a great honor to be elected delegate to these national conventions but who, engaged in the conduct of their own affairs, know little or nothing of the issues at stake and are easily delivered to this candidate or that by the boss who has brought them to the convention, paying their railroad fare, hotel bills, and so forth. They come to these conventions entirely without preparation on the issues there to be decided. To them it is only a holiday or a lark.

Then there are other delegates who come only for the purpose of actual cash or the development of a selfish scheme through which the people will later pay, in one way or another. A delegate to these conventions should be a Government officer, subject to the laws of the country as well as to a law regulating these conventions and who prepares himself at least in some degree to understand the issues which he is to decide. The delegates to a national convention, whatever the party name under which they are gathered, are, in the great majority, merely a bunch of sheep, whose leader, having jumped over a stick, the rest will follow as rapidly as they approach, though the stick has been removed so that the control of these conventions is merely the securing of a good boss from each State, furnish him with plenty of money and he will see to it that the delegates brought in from that State are men that will go in the direction he indicates, for through a careful study of his men he will know exactly what to do in any instance to bring them into line.

The makers of Presidents were very much scared that the running mate of Theodore Roosevelt in 1912 should become the Republican candidate in 1920, so they set about to thwart him as the choice of the people and General Wood was brought into the race and millions, without General Wood being conscious of it, were spent in his behalf. Not that they wanted or intended to nominate such a character, but through him, in the States where the rank and file had a chance to express their choice, he could be used to offset Senator JOHNSON; thus they would split the choice of the people and with his delegates at Chicago voting for Wood keep Senator JOHNSON from securing the nomination until the chessboard had been manipulated to suit their purposes.

You can not secure reform or permanently mend the breach in the wall of our independence and liberty without fixing this hole in the Constitution. You can form new parties with principles of the highest resolve. But they will avail you naught, for the moment your party becomes big enough to have a chance of electing its candidate, the same sinister influence will creep in and nominate that candidate. I am not speaking against the Republican party or its officers. I am not speaking against the Democratic party or its officers. I am calling attention, as I believe it my duty as a citizen and as a Member of Congress, to a great gap in our system which is bound to wreck us, if it is not mended, just as sure as the months and years go on, and it is high time that somebody should speak.

Four years ago, as I told you, this flagrant weakness in our system was called so vividly to my attention I immediately began the search for a remedy and after persistent study I came to the conclusion that the amendment of the Constitution was the only way in which it could be perfected. I have introduced such an amendment and I find it to be the first amendment so introduced in Congress. Senator JOHNSON has since introduced such a resolution and I believe that Senator NORRIS expects to soon introduce one; thus beyond all doubt this great weakness in our Constitution will become, I believe, in the next campaign, a national issue. It certainly ought to be an issue before the people at the earliest date. My resolution introduced in the last Congress received no consideration by the committee to which it was referred, and that resolution, reintroduced this session, I presume will meet the same fate, but the time is coming and very soon when people understanding the situation will demand its consideration and passage. I have followed up my resolution of constitutional amendment by a bill wherein I incorporated what seems to me, and I have no pride of authorship, but merely want to secure the consensus of the brains of Congress applied to this point, to meet the situation for the control of our nominations and elections of the Presidents of the United

States, Vice Presidents, Senators, and Congressmen, under which the people can nominate their Presidents and eliminate Newberryism in Congress, and I offer it as a point of departure or attack.

The amendment provides that the President and Vice President of the United States shall be elected by the direct vote of the people, and that the Congress shall have legislative powers to control Federal elections and the nomination of candidates for elective Federal offices, which includes, of course, the power to regulate party activities, in so far as they ought to be regulated to assure the voters of the parties an honest expression of their will.

The bill, which, as I have already said, will no doubt need the adoption of the amendment to bring it within the constitutional powers of Congress, provides that the Republican and Democratic parties are now recognized as existing political parties; that five hundred or more of the electors of any congressional district may form a new party by filing the proper petition; that when a new party shall have been organized in a majority of the districts of any State it shall, ipso facto, be deemed as organized throughout the State, and when so organized in the 12 or more of the States it shall be deemed to be organized throughout the United States. It provides that every party must elect, by the direct vote of the electors, a congressional district chairman in each congressional district, and a chairman of a senatorial committee in each State, and that these officials shall constitute the senatorial committees in the States. It provides for national committees by making the chairmen of the senatorial committees of all the States, ex officio, members of the national committee. All of these men are public officials amenable to the laws of the United States and directly responsible to the people who elect them. These men, together with the Representatives and Senators in Congress of the several parties, constitute the delegates to national conventions of their respective parties, and national conventions are limited to a promulgation of a party platform and an expression of the opinions of the delegates as to the merits of presidential and vice presidential candidates seeking the party nomination.

The bill provides that all party candidates for elective Federal offices shall be nominated at primaries by the direct vote of the electors, and that candidates not affiliated with parties may file as such after the primary.

One of the most important provisions of the bill is the provision for the creation of a Federal Elections Commission to supervise and execute the law. The commission is to consist, at its organization, of three members, two of whom shall be chosen by the Senators and Representatives of the party having the majority of those officers, and one by the Senators and Representatives of the minority party, and when any new party shall have elected at least one Senator and five Representatives, it may choose an additional member, provided the total membership of the commission is not increased to more than five. The commission is charged with many duties and obligations which are set out in detail in the bill. It will be sufficient to say here that it is the official political representative of the United States in all matters pertaining to Federal elections.

No attempt has been made to hamper or in anyway interfere with legitimate party activities. On the contrary, an earnest attempt has been made to keep from such interference. Both the amendment and the bill are drawn with the sole purpose of assuring to the people of the United States a square deal in registering their actual will in all Federal elections. They have never, from the formation of the United States had the opportunity of doing so, and will not until an amendment to this end of the Constitution is had and some such a law put upon the statutes for the regulations of nominations and elections.

Every word of the convention proposed under this law must be taken down, transcribed, and printed for free distribution to any citizen of the United States upon request. Where he can see every argument made, by whom proposed, and its final result, wherein he can hear what the prospective candidate has to say and what his ideas are should he become President of the United States, thus giving any voter of the United States opportunity to know the exact truth of the proceedings of that convention. Even if the cost of it should amount to a substantial sum it would only be a drop in the bucket to the taxpayers as compared to the ocean of gouging they now endure under the present system.

The vote of the convention upon candidates shall do no more than to classify the choice of the delegates as to first, second, third, etc., which will give the voters the benefit of the best

opinion of their Congressmen and Senators and of their duly elected delegate from their own Congressional district and State. The opinion of Congressmen and Senators of their party, ought to be valuable to them since their work and entire time is given to the study of such questions as may be there presented. The delegate of each Congressional district known as Congressional district chairman and the delegate elected at large in the State known as chairman of senatorial committee will come into the convention from every part of the United States, fresh from the people, knowing their desires, sentiments and needs, giving to the convention the elements of understanding necessary to create a platform upon which the people are represented in their particular school of thought and insure the issues thus advanced being protected by practicality in view of our established institutions of Government under the constitution. The delegate from district

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and State, having been duly elected by the voters of his party in the regular election of their State preceding the convention will have had time to know something about his duties in the coming convention. The Government will pay his railroad fare and his hotel bills, and give him a reasonable amount of compensation for his time and trouble, which I have set in my bill at \$500, and will relieve him from any obligations to selfish interests paying his expenses and time.

Thus, my friends, I have given you in response to your chairman's request, what I consider to be the great weapon, not only in our domestic economic robberies, but foreign piracy that is to-day threatening the very foundations of our Government, and the remedy offered it seems to me is absolute if our country is to endure as a representative Government, and the people continue to enjoy their inalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

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